

Boston, April 15, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR:

Knowing that you have long felt, not only a deep interest in the prosperity of the *Liberator*, but also a personal friendship for me, which not all the calumnies of the enemies of freedom have been able to shake, I feel emboldened to put the accompanying appeal into your hands, to be used discreetly and confidentially among those, who in your opinion, may be disposed to unite for the support of the paper. If this were strictly in behalf of myself, I should feel extremely mortified, and would not on any account make it; but it does not so much concern me, or my partner, as it does an immense multitude of victims upon whom are riveted the galling fetters of tyranny, and four hundred thousand persons who are nominally free, and yet deprived of almost every privilege that makes life pleasant and serviceable. Will you endeavor to ascertain how many individuals, within the immediate circle of your acquaintance, are willing to assist in raising the sum proposed on the following page, by taking shares at the specified rate? By sending the paper to no subscribers hereafter, who do not pay in advance, its circulation will probably be diminished, but to its benefit rather than to its injury; for then we shall be sure of two things—first, of getting all our dues, and secondly, of losing a heavy burden growing out of the delinquencies of those who *patronise* us by never paying a farthing for the paper. I am sure that our friends every where,—and especially our colored friends,—will say, and make good their declaration, that the expenses of printing and editing the *Liberator*, at a suitable compensation, shall be guaranteed and paid.

Yours Respectfully,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE LIBERATOR.

SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE ?

Once more, and with great mortification,—and probably for the last time,—we make our appeal to you in behalf of the *Liberator*. Its pecuniary embarrassments have now reached a crisis, which is speedily to determine its fate. Unless they be met and obviated promptly by the combined efforts of its friends, the paper must cease on the first of July. And, if it be suffered to go down for the want of patronage, it will unquestionably go ill with the sacred cause which it has so long and so strenuously advocated, and invigorate the drooping spirits of the enemies of justice, humanity and righteousness. The *Liberator* has identified itself with the present glorious conflict which is now going on between Liberty and Tyranny. It has been the pioneer in exploring the great wilderness of human suffering which exists in our land; and to its bold appeals, its unflinching courage, its uncompromising principles, and its faithful disclosures, may be attributed, instrumentally speaking, the overthrow of that stupendous system of fraud, injustice and corruption, commonly called the colonization system, and the stirring up of that mighty mass of human sympathy and moral power which is now expanding daily, and we trust is soon to fall, with mountains weight, upon the throne of despotism, grinding it to powder.

Nothing strikes so much dread into the bosoms of American oppressors, and of their corrupt apologists, and of those who are determined to drive the colored population of this country into banishment, as the *Liberator*. They hate it with a perfect hatred—and mighty and ceaseless have been their efforts to crush it. The life of its editor has been in constant peril, in consequence of their malignity and rage. They have offered, publicly and privately, large rewards for his destruction. He has been made the victim of all that is venomous in prejudice, and cruel in slander, and intolerant in persecution. But, by the help of God, he continues unto this day, still bearing his testimony against oppression—still lifting up the banner of emancipation—still wrestling against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places. And shall he now, at this auspicious period, when Truth and Love are going forth victoriously through the length and breadth of this land, and Falsehood and Prejudice are expiring together—shall he now be abandoned, and left to stagger under a burden which must ultimately crush him to the earth? Shall he be compelled, by imperative necessity, to forsake the cause which is so near to his heart, and turn his attention to other pursuits in order to get his daily bread? Shall he be forced to occupy a station, in which he can give, instead of a constant and vigorous co-operation, but an incidental and trifling support to a cause which needs a vast accession of strength to secure its final triumph? In one sentence—SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?—not so much in consequence of the opposition of its enemies, as the indifference of its friends?

Permit us briefly to trace our career. We commenced the *Liberator* without having obtained previously a single subscriber. In the course of the first volume, about 500 subscribers were added to our list: of course, this number was inadequate to our support. It slowly increased, however, during the second and third volumes, up to 1000, and then to about 1400; and so did its expenses increase, owing to its enlargement, without enhancing the terms of subscription. All this time, we lived in the most frugal and humble manner, in order by the utmost self-denial to sustain the paper, and disappoint the hopes and predictions of its enemies. Still we struggled under many embarrassments, and were in bondage to penury. We gratefully acknowledge that several generous donations were made to us for the support of the paper, from various persons and societies; and had it not been for these, it would have long since ceased to exist. These were not sufficient to remove the burden, although they alleviated its pressure.

In commencing our present volume, (the fourth,) we again enlarged the *Liberator*, still affording it at its original price. At first, the prospect looked very encouraging. In less than three months, six hundred new subscribers were added to our subscription list—principally obtained in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, but under such circumstances as to afford us no substantial aid: in fact, so remiss have they been up to this hour, in complying with the terms of the paper, that they have only increased our difficulties.

We have been continually harassed and fettered in our pecuniary resources, then—1st. Because at no one time since its commencement, anterior to the present volume, have there been subscribers enough to defray its expenses. 2d. Because there are over \$2000 due us for the three volumes, a very large proportion of which sum we never expect to realize. 3d. Because the expense of postage, the discount on foreign bills, the payment for the transportation of bundles and distribution of papers by carriers, the allowance to agents, &c. &c. have reduced the sum of \$2.00 on each subscriber who has punctually paid, to less than \$1.50. 4th. Because, in our anxiety to advance the sacred cause of freedom, we have liberally distributed copies of the paper where we deemed they were specially needed, and also gratuitously printed and circulated addresses, tracts, pamphlets, &c. on the subject of slavery and colonization, to a large amount.

Besides all this, the editor has been put to great expense in travelling unremunerated from place to place, delivering addresses, attending public meetings, conventions, &c. &c. Moreover, the low price at which the paper is afforded to subscribers allows scarcely any profit, even when they are punctual in their payments.

It is a remarkable fact, that of the whole number of subscribers to the Liberator, only about one-fourth are white. The paper, then, belongs emphatically to the people of color—it is their organ—and to them its appeals will come with peculiar force. Let them remember that so strong are the prejudices of the whites against it, we cannot at present expect much support from them. And surely, by a very trifling combination of effort and means, the colored population might easily give vigor and stability to the paper. In Philadelphia, they number 25,000; in New-York, 20,000; in Baltimore, 10,000; and they are numerous in other places. True, they are poor and trodden down; but how can they arise, without having a press to lift up its voice in their behalf? They are poor—but taking the paper will not make them any poorer—it will add to their respectability, their intelligence, and their means. It is for them, therefore, to decide this question—

SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?

We now print and circulate 2300 copies of the Liberator, weekly. Of this number, 400 are taken in Philadelphia; 300 in New-York; 200 in Boston; and the rest are scattered through the free States; making a total of about 2000 actual subscribers. Of the remaining 300, we send 40 to Hayti, and the same number to England. Our exchange with other papers has been about 150—other copies are distributed gratuitously.

The following is a moderate estimate of the expense of printing these 2300 copies, at printers' prices.

In each number of the paper, there is on an average of new matter,	
75,000 ems, at 40 cts. per 1000, amounting to \$30 per week, or in round numbers annually to	\$1500
10 tokens press-work, at 80 cts. per token, \$8 weekly, or annually,	400
Mailing, and wrapping paper and twine for do., at \$3 weekly, or annually,	150
Distributing papers in Boston, New-York, &c. \$3 weekly, or annually,	150
Postage (this includes the correspondence growing out of our connexion with the cause,) annually,	100
White paper, \$20 weekly, or annually, in round numbers,	1000

Leaving for the support of the editor,	Total,	\$3,300
		700
		\$4,000

Now, 2000 subscribers, each paying punctually \$2.00, (making no allowance for any loss, or any expense incurred in collecting it,) would make the necessary sum of \$4,000, and, consequently, afford us a decent support.

From these 2000, deduct at least 500, from whom we may expect to receive nothing ;	
this leaves 1500 at \$2.00, amounting to	\$3000
Deduct for bad debts, expense of agencies and of collecting dues, &c. &c. not less than	700
	Total,
	\$2300

Deduct \$2300 from \$4000, will leave at a moderate compensation for printing and editing the paper a deficit annually of \$1700 !!

How long can we afford, or would it be just for us, to continue our arduous labors at this rate? You perceive, dear friends, that we do not realize even 'bread and water,' clear of the actual expenses of the paper.

SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?

What shall be done? We propose that the following plan be adopted to secure its continuance. 'Many hands make light work.' Let a fund be created by the voluntary subscriptions of the friends of the paper in the various cities and towns—say 100 shares at \$10 a share—the money (subject to our order) to be paid into the hands of JAMES C. ODIORNE, Esq. of Boston, Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society on or before the middle of June next, and our accounts to be examined at stated periods by the Managers of the Society, who shall make an annual report of the pecuniary condition of our establishment to the several contributors.

We believe that the Liberator can be made to sustain itself, provided our friends will exert themselves to extend its circulation, and no subscribers are received hereafter who do not pay in advance. [] We are now resolved to make payment in advance, in all cases, a condition of receiving the paper, whether we print one hundred or two thousand. Thus we shall be sure of our dues, be they more or less. []

Our case is before you. If we—if the cause of bleeding humanity—have any claims upon you for assistance, it is for you to decide this momentous question, promptly and dutifully—

SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?

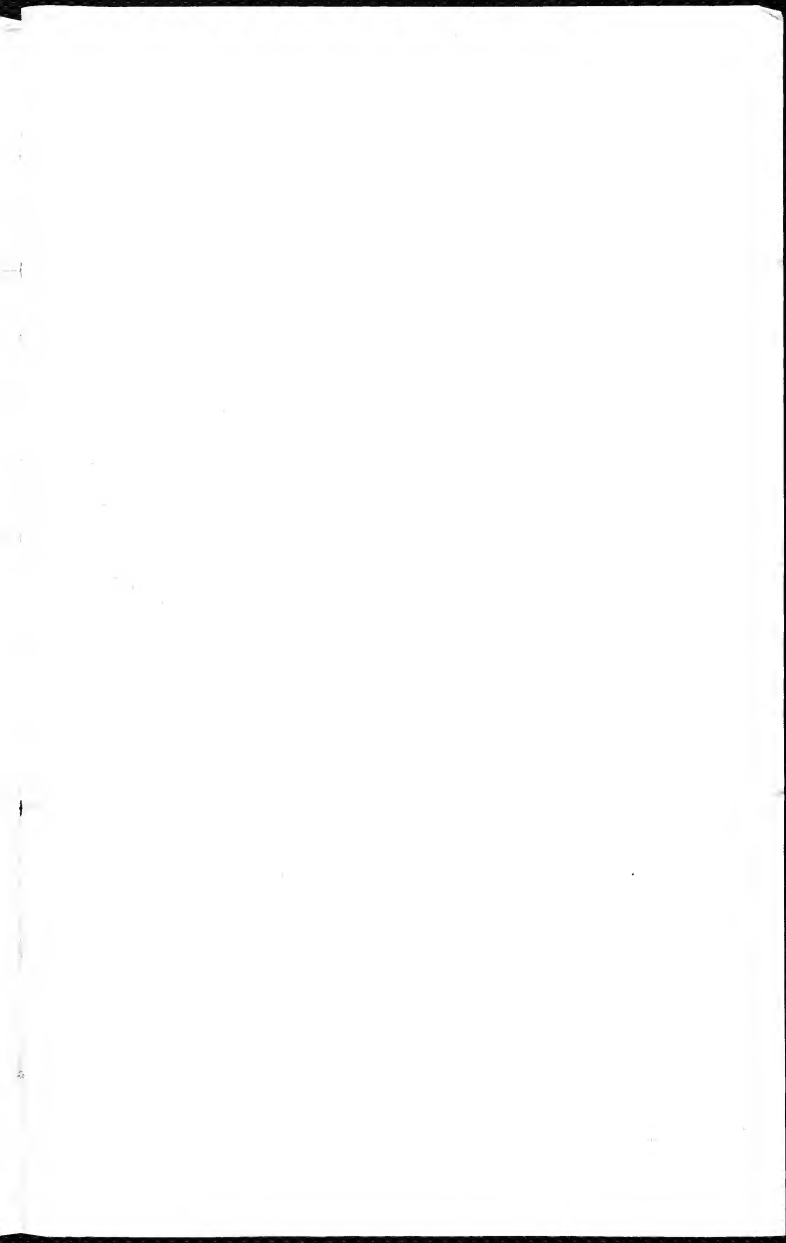
Boston, April 15, 1834.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
ISAAC KNAPP.

Subscribers Names.

No. of Shares.

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to deci
S:



W L Garrison
& Knapp.
April 1834

Paris

CHENIERE Dole, Esq

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